

Message Text

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AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMCONSUL OPORTO

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SUBJ: FORMER PRESIDENT SPINOLA DECLARES SUPPORT FOR
DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM IN PRESS INTERVIEW

SUMMARY: BREAKING THREE MONTH SILENCE, FORMER PRESIDENT SPINOLA HAS EXPOUNDED AT LENGTH TO WEEKLY EXPRESSO REGARDING A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT SUBJECTS, INCLUDING HIS POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY. INTERVIEW GIVEN SAME DAY AS AFM COORDINATING COMMITTEE MADE KNOWN ITS VIEW ON SOME OF SAME SUBJECTS TREATED BY SPINOLA, AND BEFORE AFM SET TO DECIDE ON FUTURE COURSE OF MOVEMENT. INTERVIEW ALSO PROBABLE RESPONSE TO ATTACKS ON SPINOLA BY AFM AND REFERENCES TO HIM AS POLITICAL "HAS BEEN". FOR FIRST TIME PUBLICLY SPINOLA GAVE HIS SUPPORT TO DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM, ADVOCATING PLURALISM AS BASIS FOR PROGRESS IN ALL SECTORS OF NATIONAL LIFE, AND CALLING FOR WORKER CO-MANAGEMENT OF MEANS OF PRODUCTION IN LIEU OF NATIONALIZATION. MUCH OF FLAVOR AS WELL AS CONTENT OF WHAT SPINOLA ADVOCATES COMES FROM CDS, PPD, AND PS PROGRAMS, WHICH SUGGESTS THAT IF

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HE CHOOSES TO RUN SOME DAY AS PRESIDENT ABOVE INDIVIDUAL PARTIES

HE WOULD ATTRACT SUPPORT FROM MANY SECTORS OF POPULATION. END SUMMARY.

1. BREAKING A 3-MONTH LONG SILENCE, FORMER PRESIDENT SPINOLA GRANTED A NEW YEAR'S EVE EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW TO MARCELO REBELO DE SOUSA, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF LIBERAL INDEPENDENT WEEKLY EXPRESSO. IN INTERVIEW SPINOLA DISCUSSED REASONS FOR HIS RESIGNATION, HIS INTERPRETATION OF AFM PROGRAM, AND HIS POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND PLANS FOR FUTURE. OF MOST INTEREST ARE HIS REMARKS REGARDING HIS PERSONAL POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY, WHICH RESEMBLE POLITICAL PROGRAM OF A MAN WHO DOES NOT FEEL HE HAS "COMPLETED HIS HISTORICAL MISSION", TO USE PHRASE ABOUT HIM MADE BY COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF AFM LAST WEEK.

2. SPINOLA, ASKED ABOUT HIS IDEAS ON HOW TO OVERCOME PORTUGAL'S PRESENT SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES, SAID ANY SOLUTION PRESUPPOSES A "DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIALIST" SYSTEM. HE SUPPORTS UNIQUELY PORTUGUESE AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM BUILT ON RESPECT FOR DIGNITY, LIBERTY, AND FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUAL. AS A CITIZEN HE GIVES HIS SUPPORT TO "PROGRESSIVE, ESSENTIALLY PLURALISTIC, CURRENTS WHOSE IDEOLOGICAL UNDERPINNINGS ARE ROOTED IN DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM".

3. SPECIFICALLY THE FORMER PRESIDENT ADVOCATED FIVE PROGRAM-MATIC POINTS UNDERLYING HIS CONCEPT OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM ("SOCIALISM IN LIBERTY"); INDEPENDENCE OF AND RECIPROCAL CONTROL OF POWERS OF STATE; EFFECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY OF POLITICAL POWER TO THE NATION; SUBORDINATION OF ECONOMIC POWER TO POLITICAL POWER. SPINOLA DWELT AT LENGTH ON LATTER POINT, CHARACTERIZING PORTUGAL AS POLITICALLY TO LEFT BUT ECONOMICALLY TO RIGHT. IN HIS VIEW ECONOMIC POWER MUST BE DEMOCRATIZED BUT NOT NATIONALIZED ("IN PORTUGAL THE STATE HAS ALWAYS BEEN A TERRIBLE BUSINESS MANAGER"). IDEA THAT SOMETHING CHANGES BY MERE FACT THAT STATE OWNS MEANS OF PRODUCTION, HE STATED, IS PURE UTOPIA. HE PROPOSED INSTEAD THAT WORKERS DIRECTLY PARTICIPATE AS CO-OWNERS OF FACTORIES WITH ALL RIGHTS THAT SUCH CO-OWNERSHIP ENTAILS, INCLUDING SHARING OF PROFITS OF ENTERPRISE. "TRUE SOCIALISM RESIDES IN IMMEDIATE CO-OWNERSHIP AND COLLECTIVE MANAGEMENT OF MEANS OF PRODUCTION IN A VARIETY OF SPECIFIC FORMS". REAL MOVES, NOT NOMINAL ONES, AGAINST LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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EXISTING MONOPOLIES ARE WHAT ARE NEEDED TO DEMOCRATIZE ECONOMIC LIFE AND ALLOW CREATIVE FORCES OF FREE CHOICE AND FREE INITIATIVE TO BE RELEASED.

4. THE GENERAL CAME DOWN HARD AGAINST IDEOLOGICAL INTOXICATION AND WARNED ON DANGERS OF CREATION OF A NEW TOTALITARIANISM OF LEFT REPLACING THAT OF RIGHT WHICH JUST OVERTHROWN. "LET THERE BE NO DOUBT -- IF COUNTRY AGAIN ACCEPTS A POLITICAL SINGULARISM

HOWEVER DEMOCRATIC IT CLAIMS TO BE, IT WILL NEVER ESCAPE FROM DICTATORSHIP". MORE IMPORTANT AT PRESENT TIME THAN ANY OTHER MEASURE IS EXISTENCE OF PLURALISM IN ALL SPHERES. HE URGED PLURALISM IN ADMINISTRATIVE FIELD: LOCAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION TO COMBAT CENTRALIZED STATE CONTROL; PLURALISM IN LABOR FIELD: TO PROTECT CITIZENS, WORKERS AND CONSUMERS AGAINST LABOR CENTRALIZATION SO CHARACTERISTIC OF TOTALITARIANISM; PLURALISM IN ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT: THROUGH INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF AFM TO INCLUDE ALL ARMED FORCES IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT A SMALL MILITARY ELITE DOES NOT REMAIN PERMANENTLY IN POLITICAL POWER; PLURALISM OF OPINION IN MEDIA: "WHERE THERE IS CENSORSHIP THERE IS NO DEMOCRACY".

5. ON QUESTION OF ELECTIONS, SPINOLA SAID THEY SHOULD BE HELD ON SCHEDULE. IN CONTRAST TO PCP, WHICH APPEARS TO BE BEGGINING A CAMPAIGN TO DOWNPLAY SIGNIFICANCE OF ELECTIONS, SPINOLA BELIEVES THEY WILL IN FACT BRING OUT TRUE WILL OF PEOPLE.

6. REGARDING POLITICAL FUTURE OF AFM SPINOLA WAS CLEAR: AFM SHOULD EXERCISE POLITICAL POWER ONLY DURING PERIOD NECESSARY TO INSTITUTIONALIZE AUTHENTIC DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. AFM SHOULD NOT KEEP POLITICAL POWER "EXCEPT FOR A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME AND IN RESTRICTED DIMENSIONS". AFM SHOULD MAINTAIN STRICT NEUTRALITY AS BETWEEN VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES, AND HAND OVER POWER TO ONLY THAT PARTY CLEARLY REPRESENTING MAJORITY OF POPULATION AS SHOWN BY ELECTORAL RESULTS.

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7. WHY DID HE RESIGN PRESIDENCY SEPTEMBER 30? SPINOLA REPLIED HIS ACTION PERFECTLY COHERENT WITH PAST ACTIONS, AS THOSE WHO STUDY RECORD HIS ADMINISTRATION IN GUINE WILL UNDERSTAND. WHILE THERE, AND AS CAN BE SEEN IN HIS SPEECHES AND ACTS AS PRESIDENT OF REPUBLIC, HE GUIDED BY DESIRE TO DEMOCRATIZE, SOCIALIZE AND FREE THE PEOPLE. FOR ONE INSPIRED BY DESIRE TO SERVE HIS COUNTRY ON BASIS OF SOCIALIST HUMANISM, HE LEFT WITH NO CHOICE BUT TO RESIGN AND REFUSAL TO COLLABORATE IN PREPARATION OF "NEW AUTOCRATIC REGIMES. "HE COULD NOT AGREE WITH NEW INTERPRETATION BEING GIVEN TO AFM PROGRAM, MAKING CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT THERE NOTHING IN THAT PROGRAM WHICH DOES NOT CORRESPOND EXACTLY TO HIS POLITICAL THINKING.

8. COMMENT: SPINOLA GAVE HIS INTERVIEW SAME DAY THAT AFM

COORDINATING COMMITTEE MADE KNOWN ITS COLLECTIVE VIEW REGARDING AFM PROGRAM AND FUTURE ROLE OF AFM IN POLITICS (LISBON 59). WHEREAS COORDINATING COMMITTEE REPRESENTS MOTIVATION ATTEMPTING TO MOVE AFM FORWARD ALONG NEW REVOLUTIONARY PATHS, SPINOLA
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SYMBOLIZES THE BRAKES ATTEMPTING TO HOLD BACK SUCH MOVEMENT. SUPPORT EXISTS FOR BOTH VIEWS OF SPINOLA AND VIEWS OF COORDINATING COMMITTEE IN AFM AND MILITARY AT LARGE; RESOLUTION OF PROBLEM OF WHERE AFM GOING AND HOW FAST HAS YET TO BE DECIDED BUT IS UNDER ACTIVE DISCUSSION IN AFM HIERARCHY AT PRESENT TIME. IT PROBABLE THAT SOME COMPROMISE BETWEEN EXTREMES WILL BE EMBODIED IN FINAL EXPECTED STATEMENT OF AFM GOALS TO BE ISSUED BY SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF AFM BEFORE ELECTIONS.

9. MUCH OF CONTENT OF SPINOLA'S POLITICAL PROGRAM IS SIMILAR TO THAT OF PPD, SUCH AS USE OF TERM 'SOCIALISTIC HUMANISM'. ON OTHER HAND SOCIALISM IN LIBERTY PHRASE USED BY MODERATE WING OF SOCIALIST PARTY BEFORE ITS CONGRESS. TO CONFUSE MATTERS MORE, CDS LEADERS SAY THAT THEIR PROGRAM IS SAME AS ONE SPINOLA ADVOCATES, ALTHOUGH THEY DO NOT CLAIM TO BE SOCIALIST. SPINOLA'S PROGRAM IS SUFFICIENTLY VAGUE YET PROGRESSIVE ENOUGH TO APPEAL TO SUPPORTERS OF ALL THREE PARTIES, WHOSE SUPPORT HE WOULD NEED WERE HE TO RUN AS INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT IN FUTURE. THE GENERAL HAS STUDIOUSLY REFRAINED HOWEVER FROM IDENTIFYING HIMSELF WITH ANY PARTICULAR PARTY, WHICH AT THIS STAGE WOULD PROBABLY DO NEITHER HIM NOR THE

PARTY IN QUESTION ANY GOOD. MANY CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT SPINOLA IS DOWN BUT NOT OUT OF POLITICAL GAME, THAT IN VIEW OF RECENT AFM STATEMENT IN ESSENCE REFERRING TO HIM AS HAVING "COMPLETED HIS HISTORIC MISSION", AND IN FACT OF PERSONAL ATTACK ON HIM BY OTELO SARAIVA DE CARVALHO LAST WEEK, THAT SPINOLA COMPELLED TO SHOW HE ALIVE AND KICKING, AND NOT THE BAREFACED REACTIONARY HE MADE OUT TO BE BY HIS IDEOLOGICAL OPPONENTS. HIS PROGRAM IS HARD TO ATTACK WITHOUT INDIRECTLY ATTACKING CDS, PPD, AND PS, OR VICE-VERSA, AND MAY COMPEL THEIR SUPPORT OF HIM IF HE IS ATTACKED PROGRAMATICALLY. WE EXPECT SPINOLA TO MORE FULLY DEVELOP IDEAS EXPRESSED IN INTERVIEW IN UPCOMING BOOK HE NOW FINISHING.

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